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Letter dated 1 October 1992 from the Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the letter addressed to you by Mr. Osman Ertuğ, Representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (see annex).

I should be grateful if the text of the present letter and its annex would be circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 45, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mustafa AKSIN
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Letter dated 1 October 1992 from Mr. Osman Ertuğ addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to bring to you attention the recent disclosure of the text of a letter addressed by Mr. George Vassiliou, the leader of the Greek Cypriot administration, to Dr. Vassos Lyssarides, leader of the Socialist EDEK Party in South Cyprus, on the eve of the Greek Cypriot elections in 1988. This disclosure has been made by the Greek Cypriot daily Eleftherotipia in its issue of 12 September 1992.

In this letter, the text of which is attached as appendix I, Mr. Vassiliou, who was then a candidate for the presidency of the Greek Cypriots, gives assurances to Dr. Lyssarides that, if elected, his policy regarding the Cyprus issue would be the same as that of the "rejectionists", who are known as such for their opposition to a negotiated solution to the Cyprus question.

He also states that it would be wrong to assume that the Cyprus "problem can be settled by bringing about a theoretical solution to the constitutional and territorial issues" and vows to reinforce the Greek Cypriot military capability in order to gain a position of advantage vis-à-vis the Turkish Cypriots at the negotiations.

In response to criticism by EDEK that Mr. Vassiliou has not remained faithful to the commitments he made in that letter, the Spokesman for the Greek Cypriot administration, Mr. Akis Fandis, issued a statement on 15 September 1992 (text attached as appendix II) in which he states that "the President has remained committed to all the fundamental views he indicated in the letter in question and turned these views into political action ... The joint evaluations regarding the President's attitude during the New York talks constitute more fresh proof of this."

During his term of office since 1988, Mr. Vassiliou has indeed remained faithful to the commitments he had made to the rejectionists and has been spending an average of one million dollars a day on rearmament. He has persistently refused to make a positive contribution to the negotiating process, which has continued thanks to the positive contributions of the Turkish Cypriot side.

In view of the fact that the rejectionists are adamantly opposed to the "set of ideas" and a negotiated solution to the Cyprus question, the statement made by the Greek Cypriot Spokesman is revealing. The clear meaning of this is that Mr. Vassiliou, with different tactics, is pursuing the same objectives as the rejectionists. It also explains the reason for the difficulties being encountered in the negotiating process.

In the final analysis, both Mr. Vassiliou's letter and the statement of his Spokesman demonstrate how far the Greek Cypriot side is from a viable and just solution in Cyprus, based on the political equality of the two communities. They clearly demonstrate that the Greek Cypriot side's real objective is to bring about a solution based on Greek Cypriot domination on the island.

I would be grateful if this letter and its annexes were circulated as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda item 45, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Osman ERTUĞ
Representative
Turkish Republic of
Northern Cyprus

APPENDIX I

Text of a letter addressed to Dr. Vassos Lyssarides by Mr. George Vassiliou in 1988 (Greek Cypriot Daily "Eleftherotipia" of 12 September 1992)

Dear Vassos,

I am sending you my fundamental views on Cyprus (attached), which I prepared after our meeting last Sunday. No doubt my views on and approach to the Cyprus issue are the same as yours. I am sure that both you and EDEK will find them worthy of supporting. As I have told you before, I am personally expecting both your and EDEK's assistance, support and close cooperation. Therefore, I would like to reiterate what I have repeatedly stated in the past. The struggle carried out in the past, your and EDEK's struggle, forms the mainstay of what I shall do for the homeland. In the light of these facts, I hope that EDEK will decide to support my candidacy, which will start a new cooperation in our country.

I would like to take the opportunity to salute the EDEK strugglers and to express my feelings to them for their struggle when we take this decision (and I do hope that you will). Apart from this, I shall take the opportunity to say that I shall implement my election manifesto without any deviation.

Yours respectfully

George VASSILIOU

ATTACHMENT

Fundamental views on the Cyprus issue

The Cyprus problem primarily is a question of Turkey's attack on Cyprus and invasion of part of its territory, which was undoubtedly made possible by foreign powers, and the coup, which constituted a betrayal.

The way to solve the Cyprus problem:

The solution of the Cyprus problem will be based on United Nations resolutions and 1977 Makarios-Denktas and 1979 Kyprianu-Denktas agreements, and it should guarantee Cyprus' independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment. More clearly, in order for it to be accepted as a solution it should constitute the following:

1. Turkish troops and every kind of military equipment and settlers must leave the island before the establishment of the provisional government.

2. The free movement, settlement and the right to property of all citizens and the right of all refugees to return to their homes must be guaranteed.

3. Strong international guarantees which eliminate unilateral intervention must be secured.

The Method:

The three fundamental issues which I mentioned above should be put forward within the framework of their meanings stated below:

1. A solution of the Cyprus problem can not be considered until these fundamental issues are solved. It will be a tragic mistake if the belief is created that the problem can be settled by a theoretical solution to the constitutional and territorial issues if all the invading forces have not left, the right of return of all refugees has not been guaranteed and the three basic freedoms have not been guaranteed.

2. These basic issues should be part of at all of our diplomatic and enlightenment efforts. World public opinion and the important centres which shape international public opinion should be constantly enlightened about these basic issues. Thus, Turkey's expansionism and intransigence will constantly be revealed, and, apart from this, constant pressure on Turkey will be demanded. Thus the cost of the invasion of Cyprus territory will be made heavier.

3. These basic issues should always be put forward and should constitute the first issue of any talks at every negotiating procedure.

4. In order for any negotiating procedure to be possible it should envisage the solution of all the elements mentioned above. No agreement should be signed until the three basic issues of the Cyprus problem have been solved. Proper preliminary work should be carried out for any negotiating procedure, and suitable time should be allowed for its completion.

5. Within the framework of this method, our insistence on the implementation of Security Council resolution 550 (1984) and all United Nations resolutions will be unwavering.

6. We shall work actively for the convening of an international conference within the framework of the United Nations to settle the international aspects of the Cyprus problem, and we shall try to evaluate the proposals of the Soviet Union.

7. The strengthening of our defence to deter Turkey from a new attack and to strengthen our position at the talks is the most important issue to which precedence should be given. The Defence Minister should have the trust of everyone and, together with the Parliamentary Defence Committee and experts, will prepare an overall plan for the strengthening of the effective defence of the island.

The contribution of all the people and the reserves, in particular, to the defence will be evaluated within the framework of the morale of the people and the preparedness of the army. Within this framework, the fragmentation of the members of the Greek Cypriot National Guard in accordance with their political views must be ended.

8. The basic condition for the success of our struggle is stable and good cooperation with the Greek Government. Apart from this, the securing of the support and solidarity of the Greek Government and people is needed.

Unity:

The execution of our anti-invasion struggle will only be possible with the utmost unity of the people and the leadership. Unity is the basic condition. This is how it will be achieved:

With the unity of the people, a good administration based on capability, stable development and social solidarity, unity will be ensured at the grassroots and discriminatory attitudes which divide the people will be halted.

The unity of the political leadership will be based on two principles:

(a) A Government which will be established with the participation of individuals from all ideological sectors who will be acceptable to everyone;

(b) As stated in the election manifesto, the composition of the National Council will be decided on after contacts with political leaders.

Within the framework of the implementation of our anti-invasion struggle, the utmost duty of the Government will be to create respect and pride in the existence of our state in Cyprus and our Hellenic roots. Apart from this, it will be our duty to show respect for the national identity and culture of the other national community and groups in Cyprus. All this will be carried out through educational and cultural activities and through mass media channels.

George VASSILIOU

APPENDIX II

Greek Cypriot Spokesman's reply to EDEK

The Spokesman for the Greek Cypriot Administration in South Cyprus, Mr. Akis Fandis, issued a statement on 15 September referring to the disclosure of a letter addressed in 1988, on the eve of the second round of the Greek Cypriot presidential elections, by Mr. George Vassiliou to EDEK's leader, Dr. Vassos Lyssarides. Mr. Fandis categorically denied EDEK's allegations that Mr. Vassiliou did not keep the promises he had made prior to the elections.

The Spokesman said:

"President Vassiliou has kept all the promises he made, included in his election declaration. He especially kept his promises regarding the national cause. The President has remained committed to all the fundamental views he indicated in the letter in question and turned these views into political action. Decisions taken unanimously by the National Council, especially those taken in December 1988 regarding the targets of our struggle, the proposals we made in January 1989 regarding the targets of our struggle and the proposals we made in January 1989 based on these decisions are a proof of this. The joint evaluations regarding the President's attitude during New York talks constitute more fresh proof of this.

"Therefore, it can be said that the publishing of the letter has been a positive move because, in this way, it has been proven that the deeds and words of President Vassiliou concerning the national cause are in congruence."